THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 1. SATURDAY, MARCH 30th, 1918 Price One Penny

Why Irish Labour Demands National Independence

English people cannot understand the immense emphasis that Irish Labour lays on nationality. To the English Socialist it seems impossible that an old Social Democrat like Connolly should have chosen to die under the green, white and gold of the Irish Republic. Englishmen are notoriously unable to put themselves in the other fellow's place. They always expect the South Sea islander to wear trousers and have Bass on draught in a corner shop. And the English Socialist is no exception. However insistent he may be on the importance of historical factors in social evolution he expects from Irishmen in Ireland an English outlook on life which the past of Ireland makes impossible.

The "long-island story" of England is a record of freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent. Since 1066 there has been no foreign invasion, since the Reformation no violent disturbance of the rights of property, and consequently no sudden disruption of social life.

Ireland's history is a record of invasions and of an age-long struggle between conflicting social orders. The clan system finally went down before the unfettered private property system under Cromwell's methods of blood and iron. It had survived 500 years of contest with feudalism. It left after its extinction a virile tradition, and the Cromwellian expropriation of the people created that land-hunger that has lain behind every political movement in Ireland since.

England's government in Ireland since then has been a defence by the English State of private property in Ireland. It has not sought to educate the Irish people. It has repeatedly suppressed Irish industries. It has not used the revenues of Ireland even as a just but stern guardian would employ his ward's income.

A standing army of trained soldiers—the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police has been permanently employed to dominate the country and to harass the individual with persistent espionage unknown in England.

For centuries an alien church pampered its parsons at the expense of the Irish people—and still continues to exploit Ireland, for disendowment was far from complete. For the civil garrison are retained the best situations in the service of the State. And all State departments are operated with a sole view to the interests of England being advanced. That England's highest interest is in promoting the prosperity of her nearest (and with the sole exception of the U.S.) her best customer has never been the maxim of the English State Departments of Ireland, even in the days when Manchester Liberalism was undiluted by modern Imperialism.

Big capital always looks for security. Big capital in Ireland has always been in the hands of the successors of the planters and undertakers. For example, the leaders of industry and commerce include several influential Quaker families, direct descendants of Cromwellian Nonconformists. Tradition and interest alike drive Irish capital to support the English Government in Ireland.

Hence in trade disputes to-day the Irish workman finds arrayed against him the modern capitalist eager to increase the dividend irrespective of the cost to the worker, and with the capitalist, always that Government that drove his fathers from the land, that by its agents burned their homes, that to-day is guarding the fields whereon the cattle to feed the gourmands of the Ritz are grazing, while the people of our towns are clamouring for bread.

Tradition and interest alike combine in dictating to the Irish worker hostility to English Government. English Government is therefore always seen as the reinforcement and mainstay of economic oppression. Connolly knew that Irish capitalism buttressed as it always has been by the rifles of England's army, could not survive the end of England's dominance in Ireland. The aim of Irish Labour is to-day that set forth in the Republican Proclamation of Easter week:

"We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland . . . . . to be sovereign and indefeasible. . . . . The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts. . . . . "

Of Special Interest This Week

The Bolshevik Revolution

By an Eye-Witness

Irish Labour has learned to distrust the present-day leaders of English Labour. Arthur Henderson was a member of the English Cabinet that doomed James Connolly, a wounded prisoner of war, to death. He was in the Government that strove to partition Ireland. He has promised to accept "without qualification" the decisions of the English Convention that is repudiated by Irish Labour. It has known the character of Sexton, Seddon, and Havelock Wilson. English Labour must get itself right with Ireland; it must learn of Ireland, imitate its zeal and take flame from its devotion.

JOSEPH McDONNELL,
Sub-Editor "Irish Opinion and Voice of Labour."

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON

THE VICTIMISATION OF J. T. MURPHY. UNCONDITIONAL RE-INSTATEMENT.

Some few weeks ago Comrade Murphy left the River Don Works, Sheffield, to take a job at the Vulcan Works, Southport, from which firm he was discharged, "bad timekeeping" being the excuse. On top of this he received a summons, three weeks after leaving Sheffield, to attend an Enlistment Complaints Committee in Manchester to answer a charge of bad timekeeping whilst at the River Don Works. The workers at the Vulcan Works being convinced that this was a clear case of victimisation, downed tools and demanded Murphy's unconditional re-instatement. The movement rapidly spread. Mass meetings were held at Barrow, Sheffield, and other big centres, and it looked as though it would become national. As a result, Comrade Murphy was unconditionally re-instated. This is another victory for direct action. The South of England did not participate, not because it is more apathetic than other districts, but simply because the workers there did not know what was happening. We must continue to develop our Workers' Committee movement to co-ordinate our activities effectively. Then we shall be able to enforce re-instatement in 24 hours, not three weeks as in this case.

CHAOS AND CONFUSION.

Every worker should read the report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure in which some remarkable revelations are made. For instance, £1 per ton was paid on 625,000 tons of steel, just for cutting up into billets, and one firm's books showed a profit of 27 per cent. for the turnover before allowing for depreciation, or 340 per cent. on the capital as it stood in the books. Another firm on one order made a profit of £1,300,000. Scores of similar instances could be quoted if space permitted. To quote the "Star": "Chaos, confusion, overlapping, inadequate consideration, recklessness as to cost, waste of money, materials and men is the record of the much-boomed Ministry of Munitions, disclosed in this amazing White Paper." What can one expect when first a lawyer, then a doctor, and now a political adventurer is to be found at the head of this department? This should convince the workers that the present boss class have not the requisite ability to run the proverbial whelk stall. Moral:—Shift them, and do these things for yourselves.

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M. E., writing to the "Daily News" the other day, said: "Why shouldn't a number of women be mobilised and sent into some of the shipyards where the hammers are not making enough noise?" One wonders whether M. E. is a mother of girls, and if she would like to see her daughters as riveters? One also wonders whether it is another dodge on the part of the employers to secure cheap labour in the shipyards.

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Last month the A.S.E. increased its membership by 3,080, making a total of 278,166. But of what use are huge numbers without a clearly defined revolutionary policy and the necessary kick to give effect to it? The A.S.E. has power, but instead of using that power in the right direction, it sends for Lloyd George, Geddes, and Barnes!

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This may be explained by the fact that the A.S.E. is putting up another six Parliamentary candidates, making twenty in all. It would be far better to put twenty men into the industrial field to do some real organisation work.

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We note there are 68 candidates for two assistant secretaries' jobs for the A.S.E. It is to be hoped that no rebel rank and filer secures election.

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On March 9 and 10 a conference convened by the N.A.C., of the Workers' Committee was held at Sheffield, and delegates from the miners and railwaymen were present. A draft programme for Labour on the War issues was discussed at great length, but no decision was arrived at. The whole matter was referred back to the districts, and another conference is to be convened for April 13 and 14 in Manchester.

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The A.S.E. has decided to apply for an advance in wages equivalent to 100 per cent. on pre-war rates. We hope this application will be backed up by the requisite punch to secure the advance and that the workers will not be fobbed off with a couple of bob per week. The interesting feature about this is that F.S. Button, late A.S.E. Executive Councilman, is on the Committee of Production. He is now in the unenviable position of representing the State and employers in resisting the application. And he is still a member of the A.S.E.! And still claims to be a Socialist!!!

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James Ratcliffe, A.S.E. organiser (Division 5), reports trouble with the plumbers over questions of demarcation. It appears that the plumbers don't like it. The one concern of the workers appears to be a desire for plenty of work, and they continually fight each other for different classes of work. We have never noticed any of the bosses falling over each other to do the work. When will the wage slaves fight for less hours and more leisure?

LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

The next monthly meeting is on April 7, 11 a.m., at Chandos Hall. Progress is being made with the educational classes. More students are required on Wednesday evenings and Sunday afternoons. All information from T. KNIGHT, hon. sec., 7 Featherstone Buildings, London W.C.1.

W. F. W.

THE CURSE OF SECTIONALISM.

J. O. H. writes from Preston saying he was compelled to leave Leyland through being victimised on account of activities in the Workers' and Shop Stewards' movement. He was discharged on Feb. 14, and all unions, with the exception of the Steam Engine Makers, decided to down tools until he was re-installed. But the S.E.M., which happens to be the biggest society in the town, decided at a mass meeting not to support the down tools movement, and in consequence of this our comrade had to clear out. Here we have an instance of a forward movement being held back by a reactionary

(continued on back page)

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RED RUSSIA

*We have condensed below an account by John Reed of the opening of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which has appeared in the American "Liberator." Reed's vividly-told first-hand story of the happenings in Petrograd last October is so full of interest that we propose shortly to republish it in full as a sixpenny book.**

"The real revolution has begun . . . . and at this date I am writing, November 4th (all dates according to the Russian calendar, our dates thirteen days earlier) the workers are in complete control. Since last February, when the roaring torrents of workmen and soldiers bearing upon the Tauride Palace compelled the frightened Duma to assume the supreme power in Russia, it is the masses of the people—workmen, soldiers, and peasants—who have forced every change in the course of the Revolution. It was they who hurled down the Miliukov Ministry. It was their Soviets—their Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates—which proclaimed to the world the Russian peace terms—'no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the people to dispose of themselves.' And, again, in July it was the spontaneous rising of the unorganised masses, again storming the Tauride Palace, which forced the Soviets to assume power in the name of the proletariat. The Bolshevik party was the ultimate political expression of this popular will. It is worthy of remark that when the Bolsheviks first demanded that all power should be given to the Soviets, the majority of the Soviets were still anti-Bolshevik. It is a mark of their utter consistency and of their complete confidence in the approaching triumph of their cause.

"It was the fate of the hesitating successive Ministries of the Provisional Government to be blind to this inexorable trend of affairs. . . . In answer to the whole country's longing for peace, the Government permitted the Allies to postpone and again postpone the promised Conference on the Aims of the War, and finally to announce that War aims would not be discussed at all. In regard to the land question, the Government's course was equally indecisive. In the summer, Peasant Land Committees had been appointed for the purpose of temporary disposal of the great estates; but when they began to act, they were arrested and imprisoned. To the agrarian disorders that resulted from the holding back of the long-promised land, the Government replied by sending Cossacks to put down the 'anarchy.' The army was demoralised by suspicion of its officers; the Government, instead of attempting the democratisation of the reactionary staffs, tried to suppress the Soldiers' Committees, and restored the death-penalty in behalf of discipline. Industry was in a terrible state of disorganisation, a struggle to the death between manufacturers and working men; but instead of establishing some sort of State control over the factories, and making use of the immensely valuable democratic working-men's organisations, Minister of Labour Skobelev tried to abolish the Shop Committees. . . . .

"After the Soviets' world-wide call for peace without annexations and indemnities, the Russian and German armies had fraternised for several months, until, according to the testimony of Rosa Luxembourg,† the German troops were thoroughly unwilling to fight. In June, by tricks, exhortations, and lies, the Russians were cajoled into advancing—the whole movement crumbling and crashing down in disaster at Kalusz and Tarnopol; and as a result, the morale of the Russian armies and their faith in their officers irreparably ruined.

"Then, after the fall of Riga, came the Kornilov attempt to march on Petrograd and establish a military dictatorship. All the details of the story have not yet come out, but it is plain that Kerensky and other members of the Government were in some way involved in the scheme. . . .

"At the time of the Kornilov attempt, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets proposed that an All-Russian Congress be called at Petrograd, to broaden the base of the Provisional Government and create some sort of temporary organ or pre-Parliament to which the Ministry could be responsible until the Constituent Assembly. The basis of the new body was, of course, to be the Soviets; but as the Bolshevik power continued to grow, the Central Committee became anxious, and began to invite all sorts of non-political—and conservative—organisations, such as the Co-operatives, to participate. With the same object, to keep the pre-Parliament from being Bolshevik, it reduced the Soviet membership and increased the representation of the bourgeoisie in the last few days, until, even though the propertied classes had been expressly excluded, it was certain that the majority of the gathering would be 'safe.' . . . From the first the Bolsheviks refused to sanction the existence of the Council. At its first meeting in the Marinsky Palace, Trotsky took the tribune in the name of the Bolsheviks, and made a speech which contains the full premises of the Bolshevik insurrection. And when it became clear that there was nothing more to be said in opposition to the compromisers, but only something to be done, the Bolsheviks quitted the Council of the Russian Republic in a body.

"That was on October 5th.

"The true revolution may be said to have begun on that day. For their withdrawal was a sign of the withdrawal of confidence from the Government by the whole mass of the Russian people. Those who were left behind, the hostile Cadets, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries, realised what it meant, and there were many pale faces. Shrieks, curses, execrations, and imploring cries of "Come back!" followed the departing Bolsheviks. But they did not come back. And it was a blow from which the Council never recovered. It was to go on deliberating and speech-making, amid lethargic silence or uproarious tumult . . . until that cold grey morning, three weeks after the departure of the Bolsheviks, when they were to be interrupted—all the doors of the great imperial council room suddenly filled with rough-looking big soldiers and sailors, bristling with bayonets, and a sailor shouting, 'No more Council. Run along home.'

"I had seen the Bolsheviks leave the earlier Assembly. In the corridor I stopped Volodarski. 'Why are you fellows going?' I asked. 'We can't work with that counter-revolutionary gang,' he replied. 'They've packed the hall, and now they've put over a combination with the Kornilovsti, to wreck the resolution.' 'We're going to call a new All-Russian Convention of the Soviets. That's where the real revolutionary force lies. Then we'll take over the power. All power to the Soviets, where it belongs!' It was this All-Russian Congress of Soviets that now loomed over Russia like a thunder-cloud. The Central Executive Committee realised that it was beaten, and sent frantic calls over the country to the Soviets to elect Menshevik and Social Revolutionist delegates—a despairing attempt to get a majority of the 'right' and 'centre.'

"On October 17th, the very day that Trotsky gave me an interview about the projects of the new power—the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'—which Volodarski had described to me as being in form 'a loose government, sensitive to popular will, giving local forces full play.' He said:

"Our first act will be to call for an immediate armistice on all fronts, and a conference to the peoples to discuss democratic peace terms. The quantity of democracy we get in the peace settlement depends upon the quantity of revolutionary response there is in Europe. If we create here a government of the Soviets, that will be a powerful factor for immediate peace in Europe; for this Government will address itself immediately and directly to the peoples, over the heads of their governments, proposing an armistice. At the moment of the conclusion of peace the pressure of the Russian Revoluion will be in the direction of: no annexations, no indemnities, the rights of peoples to dispose of themselves, and a Federated Republic of Europe.

"At the end of this War I see Europe recreated, not by diplomats, but by the proletariat. The Federated Republic of Europe—the United States of Europe—that is what must be. National autonomy no longer suffices. Economic evolution demands the abolition of national frontiers. If Europe is to remain in national groups, then Imperialism will recommence its work. Only a Federated Republic can give peace to Europe—and to the world." He smiled, that singularly fine and somewhat melancholy smile of his. 'But without the action of the European masses, these ends cannot be realised—now.'

"At that same meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, on October 17th, some soldiers, workmen and peasants spoke, revealing very clearly the feeling of the masses, and some officers, members of the Army Central Committees, the Central Committee of Soviets, etc., opposed them. As for these last, suffice it to say that they opposed with all their might 'All power to the Soviets'—and there was not a proletarian among them, just as there were no bourgeois among the representatives of the masses. The division was clean. . . .

"The peasant described the agrarian disorders in Kaluga Government, which he said were caused by the Government's arresting members of the Land Committees who were trying to distribute the uncultivated fields of the local great estates. 'This Kerensky is nothing but a comrade to the *pomiestchiks* (landlords),' he cried. 'And they know we will take the land anyway at the Constituent Assembly, so they are trying to destroy the Constituent Assembly!'

"A workman from the Obukovsky Zavod, a government shop, described how the superintendents and managers were trying to close down certain departments one by one, complaining of lack of material, of fuel, etc., and how the shop committee had discovered that there was no real necessity for closing down. 'They are trying to drive the revolutionary Petrograd workers out of the city,' he declared. 'It is *provocatsi*—they want to starve us to death, or drive us to violence.'

"Among the soldiers one began, 'Comrades! I bring you greetings from the spot where men are digging their own graves and call them trenches! We must have peace!'

"Another man told of the electoral campaign now being waged in the Fifth Army for the Constituent Assembly. 'The officers, and especially the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, are trying deliberately to cripple the Bolshevik campaign. Our papers are not allowed to go to the trenches. Our speakers are arrested. Our mail is censored.'

"Why don't you speak about the lack of bread?' cried a voice. 'They are sabotaging the food supply. They want to starve Red Petrograd!'

"Now while everybody was waiting for the Bolsheviks to appear suddenly on the streets one morning and begin to shoot down people with while collars on, the real insurrection took its way quite naturally and openly.

"One of the recent blundering actions of the Provisional Government had been to order the Petrograd garrison to the front, with the object of replacing it with loyal troops. To this order the Petrograd Soviet protested, alleging that it was the intention of the Government to remove from the revolutionary capital the revolutionary troops defending it. The General Staff insisted. Thereupon the Petrograd Soviet agreed in principle, at the same time stipulating that it be allowed to send a delegation to the front to confer with General-in-Chief Tcheremissov, and agree with him on the troops which were to come to Petrograd. The Petrograd garrison also appointed a delegation; but an order from the General Staff forbade the committee to leave the city. To the Soviet delegation General Tcheremissov insisted that the Petrograd garrison should obey his orders without question, and that the General Staff would send to Petrograd whatever troops it saw fit.

"At the same time the Staff in command of the Petrograd District began quietly to act. The Junker artillery was drawn into the Winter Palace. Patrols of Cossacks made their appearance, the first since July, and great heavy armoured motor-cars mounted with machine-guns began to lumber up and down the Nevski. . . . . The military section of the Petrograd Soviet demanded that a Soviet representative be admitted to the meetings of the Staff. Refused. Petrograd Soviet asked that no orders be issued without the approval of the military section. Refused. On the 16th the representatives of all the regiments of the Petrograd garrison held a meeting at Smolny, at which they formed the famous Military Revolutionary Committee, and declared formally, 'The Petrograd garrison no longer recognises the Provisional Government. The Soviet is our Government. We will obey only the orders of the Petrograd Soviet through the Military Revolutionary Committee.'

"On the 23rd, the Government announced that it had sufficient force to suppress any attempted rising. That night Kerensky ordered the suppression both of the extreme right papers, 'Novaia Rus' and 'Jivoe Slovo,' and of the Bolshevik papers, 'Rabodtchi Poot' and 'Soldat.' An hour after the Junkers had closed the office and printing shops, and put the Government seals on the doors, a company of soldiers from one of the Guard regiments broke the seals in the name of the Military Revolutionary Committee. At the same time other troops from Smolny seized the printing plant of the 'Rousskaia Volia,' a bourgeois paper, and began to print the 'Rabotchi Poot.' In trying to prevent this, Mayer, Chief of the Militia, was shot by the Red Guard.

"During the night several transports full of Bolshevik sailors came from Cronstadt, with the cruiser 'Aurora.' The Government ordered that the bridges over the Nova be raised, so that the regiments across the river and the workmen from the Viborg district could not come to aid the rebels. The Cronstadt sailors made a landing under fire, in which several people were killed,

(continued on 977, column 3)

* Advance orders should be sent in to 400 Old Ford Road, without delay.

† "So, you have broken the peace! The Russian revolution was everything to us, too. Everything in Germany was tottering, falling. . . . For months the soldiers of the two armies fraternised, and our officers were powerless to stop it. Then suddenly the Russians fired upon their German comrades! After that it was easy to convince the Germans that the Russian peace was false. Alas, my poor friends! Germany will destroy you now, and for us is black despair come again. . . ." Letter of Rosa Luxembourg to a Russian Socialist, July, 1917.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

IRISH ELECTION

The Waterford election has resulted in the return of Captain W. A. Redmond, son of the late Irish Nationalist leader. The Sinn Fein candidate, Dr. White, received 745 votes, whilst Redmond got 1,242. We know the Sinn Feiners contested this seat for purely propaganda purposes, and think the result a good proof that Waterford, so long a Nationalist stronghold is beginning to think!

MISS BOYLE'S PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURE

Though strongly opposed to Miss Nina Boyle's Parliamentary views, we welcome the fact that a woman has followed the old example of Miss Helen Taylor in announcing her intention to stand for Parliament. We think that all elective offices should be open to women on equal terms with men. The various legal decisions which have been given have laid it down that women are not eligible for any constitutional privilege unless the same has been specially conferred on them by Act of Parliament. Therefore it is a foregone conclusion that the returning officers will refuse to accept Miss Boyle's nomination. The next move is to secure the passage of a Bill to make women eligible for election.

A HEALTH MINISTRY

We look with anxiety for the Government's proposals concerning a Ministry of Health. Proper nursing and medical care, given freely and accompanied by free medicine, is greatly needed by the masses. The Insurance Act gives this only partially and grudgingly, and provides that unemployment, occurring perhaps months before the illness, shall debar insured persons from benefit. Sir Edwin Cornwall says that in the last five years £70,000,000 have been spent in sick, disablement, maternity, and sanatorium benefits, medical services and drugs. But in the last 3½ years countless more millions have been spent on the War. Lord Rhondda tells us that 1,000 babies' lives a week have been lost through the maladministration of the health services. We agree it is scandalous; but whilst welcoming any amelioration, we believe that only Socialism will solve the problem of poverty and neglect. Lord Rhondda describes his Bill as "an urgent War measure." The following verses from "The Maoriland Worker" seem apposite:—

"Save the babies! Save the babies!"
Have you heard the Tory cry?
"Save the babies! Save the babies!"
Did you say, Chow-like—"Whaffor?"
Well, some nasty folks keep blurting—
"For the next big righteous war."
—Hugh Stone, in "Maoriland Worker."

MORE FOOD FOR THE RICH

As we expected, the rationing orders carefully arrange that those who can afford to buy game and poultry may be sure of enough meat whatever happens to the poor. Five ounces of butchers' meat or three ounces of sandwich or meat pie is to be the equivalent of one coupon, whilst for one coupon a partridge, grouse, grey hen, or widgeon may be obtained whatever the weight may be, or for one coupon one may get two of woodcock, teal, and snipe, two of plover and pigeon, four of quail and snipe. For two coupons, one may get a pheasant, wild duck, guinea fowl, capercailzie hen or blackcock. One can only get a rabbit weighing up to 1½lb. for one coupon, or if sold by the lb., one pound of rabbit per coupon.

THE WAR

The War is going on badly for the Allied Governments on the West front. The Germans have pushed back the Allied line, and Paris has been bombarded. Mr. Lloyd George uses the fact that the Allies are at the moment getting the worst of it as an excuse for brushing aside the majority vote of the Miners against the Government's comb-out proposals. The Miners' officials have fallen in with the Prime Minister's wishes, and have decided to take no further action against the comb-out; what will the rank and file do? The Engineers are now threatening to strike because skilled men are being combed out and replaced by dilutees; and the realisation that this is a capitalist War is undoubtedly behind both the Miners' anti comb-out vote and the Engineers' threat to strike: we wish that both bodies of workers would openly demand a people's peace: but that, no doubt, will come in time—perhaps even before the British Socialist M.P.s have come to the point of voting against the War credits!

In the East Germany still attacks Russia, and though it is still said that the Japanese Government has not yet decided upon the invasion of Siberia, "The Times" is no doubt correct in its assertion that "there is indisputable evidence that Japan is preparing to enter Siberia"; indeed, it is announced that fighting has actually begun. Trotsky predicts an agreement between Japan and Germany to crush Socialism in Russia. Nothing is more probable. Evidently the Jananese Government is merely hesitating as to whether action with the Allies or with Germany is likely to be most effective. As Trotsky points out when men like Balfour proffer a desire to help Russia they mean the employing classes of Russia. The "Times" says:

"The essential necessity is to secure a junction between the Amur and Siberian railways, so as to cut communication between the West and the dangerous elements" (the Bolsheviks). "In Eastern Siberia the Russians" (the employing classes) "are being given the means to do this for themselves, and it depends on the unity and enterprise they display whether they can gradually assert control up to Vladivostok. If they are not quickly successful, Japan will have no choice but to intervene for the protection of her nationals, as well as in the interests of all concerned" (i.e. all capitalists and employers.)

BELGIUM'S COMPLAINT TO RUSSIA

The Belgian Government upbraids the Russians for declaiming null and void the secret treaties and other engagements entered into by the Czardom, the Belgian Government protests that their permanent character removes them from the influence of internal changes. The adoption of the Russian Socialist peace formula: "no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the people to decide their own destinies," and the establishment of international Socialism are the sure methods of saving Belgium from a repetition of her present sufferings.

COERCION

Miss Marsh, W.S.F., was recently imprisoned for having pacifist literature in her possession. She has now been removed from the Local Food Control Committees because she is a pacifist. We congratulate her.

TWO VICTIMS

Two girls have recently been tried for infanticide. One of these was Margaret Travers, an Irish girl of 18 years of age, who drowned her illegitimate child in a drain and afterwards left its body covered with wreaths on the shore of a lake. The evidence pointed to the fact that the girl was temporarily out of her mind, but she was sentenced at the Westmeath Assizes to be hanged on March 28th, in spite of the fact that the jury strongly recommended her to mercy. Mary Lewis, aged 20, a servant, drowned her illegitimate child in the Severn, after a vain search for lodgings. At Shrewsbury Assizes she was sentenced to three years' penal servitude by Judge Ballhache, in spite of the jury's strong recommendation to mercy. The fathers of the dead babies have not been called on to share the responsibility for what has happened. State maintenance for these children and proper care of the mothers in their time of difficulty would have prevented the murders.

FROM A SOLDIER'S WIFE

Dear Editor,—I am writing to ask you if you think I can get a special grant of a few extra shillings per week as I find it impossible to make my separation allowance keep things going. I have got two heavy doctor's bills to pay, one from last July, £1 3s. 6d. Now I have been under him for three months with pleurisy and rheumatism. I have tried to work to help to keep things together, but owing to ill-health I am unable to do it any longer. I pay 8s. per week rent, which leaves me £1 1s. 2d. for everything else. Our children have to have boots and clothes. I think the Government forgets that soldiers' and sailors' children have to be clothed and fed. Everyone but us has a bonus to help to meet the high cost of food, but we don't get an extra penny. Then again, our money is paid to us on Monday, and all the food has been bought up on the Saturday; there is nothing left for us when we get our allowance. I should very much like to put Mrs. Lloyd George on a level with us; just see if she could keep her body and soul together on it!—Yours, etc., G. M. Nawsy.

P.S.—I am a member of the League of Rights for Soldiers and Sailors and their Wives and Relatives.

[Further particulars of this League may be obtained from the Secretary at 400 Old Ford Road, E.]

THE SCHOOLING OF THE FUTURE
with special reference to the Education Bill
By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

March 19th.—Mr. Macpherson stated that the "maisons tolerées" in France were to be placed "out of bounds" for British soldiers in France.

WASTE OF TIME AT WOOLWICH.

As a result of the letters to the "Times" alleging waste of time at Woolwich Arsenal, an enquiry was made. The answer to most allegations ran, "this statement is not true." Further, the verdict of the enquiry was that the statements made "indicate a very imperfect and brief acquaintance with the practice of the Arsenal." Mr. Pringle (L.) suggested that proceedings should be taken against the "Times"; but Mr. Kellaway thought the correspondence "had caused no mischief." If a Labour paper had been the culprit we feel sure nothing less than suppression would have satisfied the authorities. What a good thing it is to be "Northcliffe omnipotent"!!

THE W.A.A.C.

March 20th.—Mr. Forster stated that the W.A.A.C.s may have the privileges granted to soldiers by the Finance Act, extended to them. How gracious.

MISS HOWSIN.

Mr. Trevelyan (L.) drew the attention of the Home Secretary to the fact that in September last the release of Miss Howsin was granted provided certain sureties were forthcoming. Miss Howsin's advisors submitted these sureties on February 18th, but as yet no answer has been received. Miss Howsin has now been more than two and a half years interned on suspicion, for as far as we know no real case was ever made against her. Sir G. Cave said that the matter was being considered.

GIRL MESSENGERS.

There are about 6,000 girl telegraph messengers employed in the Post Office. Mr. Illingworth stated the rates of pay in London are 8s. or 8s. 6d. per week, with 6s. 6d. War bonus. The hours vary from thirty-six to fifty a week.

MR. GINNELL.

Mr. Byrne (I.N.) stated that Mr. Ginnell had made a speech in the Square, Kilcock, Co. Meath, advising the people to go on a deputation and demand land from the proprietors. Should they be refused, he urged them to take possession of what they wanted, as the Sinn Feiners had done in Co. Clare. We now understand that Mr. Ginnell has been arrested. His "crime" is trying to force people to do as the British Government suggests: till more land!!!

SUPPLY.

March 19th and 20th were devoted to debates on supply. Mr. Trevelyan (L.) took the opportunity of moving that a Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs be appointed representative of all parties and groups in the House, the object being to establish a regular channel of communication between the Foreign Secretary and the House of Commons. Mr. Ponsonby (L.) seconded the motion and suggested that the Committee consist of from thirty to fifty members. Mr. Balfour made a flippant speech condemning the suggestion on the grounds that it was impractical and undemocratic! He argued that he was equally as representative of democracy as Mr. Trevelyan—a most inappropriate argument. However, though we agree that the Committee is not the last word in democracy we feel with Mr. Jowett (Lab.) that it would be better than the present autocratic institution. We want an end put to all this secrecy, which gives diplomatists power to barter away people's lives and possessions without any deference to their wishes.

NAVY ESTIMATES.

Sir Eric Geddes made an elaborate statement on the condition of shipbuilding and shipping. From his speech one must conclude that the various Controllers can do no wrong and that when enough men can be procured ships will abound. Of course, the First Lord overlooks the fact that as time goes on less, rather than more, men are available.

THE CURFEW.

Sir Albert Stanley made the announcement that coal and gas must be used more economically. To ensure this restaurants cannot serve a hot meal between 9.30 p.m. and 5 a.m. Theatres must close at 10.30 p.m. One feels that the old feudal days with their restrictions are with us again. Yet there is no reason why the hours of day-light should not be fully utilised—not merely as a War-measure; but as a recommendation from the promised Ministry of Health.

CENTRAL AFRICA.

March 21st.—In reply to Mr. King (L.), Lord R. Cecil stated that: "His Majesty's Government and the French Government assured the Belgian Government on September 19th, 1914, that they would support Belgium in every way in securing the integrity of her colonial possessions." Yes, but what do the people of those regions say?

CHRISTIAN PEACE CRUSADE.

Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) drew attention to the fact that the papers, books, etc., taken from the offices of the Christian Peace Crusade in November, 1917, were ordered to be destroyed on March 15th. Eighteen thousand copies of "The Last Weapon" were amongst them, and this book had had several editions, being two years on the market!

BLOCKADE.

If Brigadier-General Croft's statements are correct about exports, it is indeed serious, and British consumers should protest against going short of food, whilst such quantities are exported. He stated that the exports of tea to Sweden were thirty times as much in 1916 than in 1913; in 1913 cocoa weighing 149,000 lbs. was exported to Sweden, whereas 1915-16 showed exports of 13,788,000 lbs. of cocoa. General Croft was worried about the possibility of the Germans having had access to these food stuffs, our case is that long tea queues were allowed here, high prices demanded owing to an alleged shortage whilst all the time increased exports were allowed!

WIDOWS AND CHILDREN.

Mr. Hogge (L.) again pointed out the injustice of granting less to widows and children than when husbands are alive and serving. He also returned to the fray on the question of deducting seven shillings weekly from the pensions of tuberculous soldiers in hospital. Mr. Bonar Law promised improvements in the new warrant. The pensions of victims of other wars are to be brought into line with those of this War.

RECESS.

The House adjourned until April 9th.

RED RUSSIA (continued from page 976).

and closed the bridges. In the evening bands of Junkers stationed themselves at street corners near the Winter Palace and began to requisition automobiles; and after some hours the Bolshevik troops began to do the same.

"Tuesday morning, the 24th, the people of Petrograd awoke to find the city plastered with proclamations signed 'Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.'

"At Smolny that night meeting of the old Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets—its last—to welcome the delegates to the new Convention. Futile resolutions against the demonstration, in favour of complete submission to the Provisional Government. . . .

"At midnight members of the Pavlovsk regiment, who have secreted themselves in the meeting-room of the General Staff, overhear the plans that are being made to arrest the Bolshevik leaders, capture the Smolny and disperse the All-Russian convention. Immediately they post guards at all the entrances to the Staff, begin arresting officers and members of the Ministry, take them to Smolny—where no one knows what to do with them. Released with apologies. And then, two hours later, Junkers seizing the principal points of the city, the Military Revolutionary Committee gets into action. Ministers and Staff officers to be arrested, armoured cars ordered out to hold the street-corners. Bolshevik troops sent to seize the State Bank, the Telephone Station, drive the Junkers out of the Telegraph Station, and draw a cordon around the Winter Palace. . . But Kerensky has already fled.

"The masses are in power. . . . And on the morning of October 31st, after the defeat of Kerensky's Cossack army, Lenin and Trotsky sent through me to the revolutionary proletariat of the world this message:

"Comrades! Greeting from the first proletarian Republic of the world. We will call you to arms for the international Social Revolution."

WHATS' ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUT DOOR

SUNDAY, MARCH 31st.
Osborn Street, 11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
SATURDAY, APRIL 6th.
Great Push in Kensal Rise.
SUNDAY APRIL 7th.
Joint with W.P.C., Clapham Common, Miss Price and others.

INDOOR

FRIDAY, APRIL 5th.
Shepherd's Bush, N.U.R., 4 Calderon Place, W.10, 8.30 p.m., Miss Horsfall.
SUNDAY, APRIL 7th.
400 Old Ford Road, Bow, 7 p.m., Mr. R. Palmer. Subject: "What I saw in France." Admission free.
Hansler Hall, Hansler Road, Dulwich, I.L.P., 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—Easter Sunday, 8.15 p.m. Speaker, Rev. Stanley James.

OFFICE HOLIDAYS

The W.S.F. Office is shut Good Friday and Easter Saturday, Sunday and Monday.

LABOUR DEMONSTRATION to meet Comrade W. H. ANDREWS

(Delegate to London and Stockholm from the South African International Socialist League).

On Thursday, April 4th, 1918, at 7 o'clock, at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, W.C. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST will take the Chair at 7 p.m. prompt. Doors Open 6.30. Tickets Sixpence Each. To be obtained at the doors, or from: British Socialist Party (Central London Branch), 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.2; Independent Labour Party (City of London Branch), Arthur Field, 28 Ilminster Gardens, Battersea, S.W.11; Workers' Suffrage Federation, Mrs. J. A. Bouvier, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3; Workers' Welfare League of India, J. M. Parikh, 18 Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn, W.C.1.

A limited number of Free Seats will also be available.

TO OUR READERS

Owing to holiday labour difficulties and paper shortage we are obliged to postpone our double number. The promised Irish articles will be divided between this issue and next. Also the Workshop Notes.

TO NEWSAGENTS

John Heywood, Deansgate, Manchester, wholesale newsagent, will supply all orders for the "Dreadnought" on Thursdays, from now onwards. Also, Messrs. Emery, 7 Bride Court, London, E.C.4, and the Literature Dept. of National Labour Press, 8 and 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments NOW, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

[Advt.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

THE MOTHERS' ARMS CLINIC, DAY NURSERY, AND MONTESSORI CLASS; also CLINIC, 20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR, and CLINIC, 53 ST. LEONARD STREET, SOUTH BROMLEY.—Garments for Babies, Children, and Adults, Maternity Outfits, etc., Children's Toys, Pot Plants, Flowers and Branches, etc., always wanted.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

WOMEN WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton.—Hostess, Miss Turner.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

ANTIQUES
For Genuine Old English Furniture and China
MARY CASEY,
29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2

Greer's Agreeable
BAKING, CUSTARD, EGG AND BLANCMANGE POWDERS
In 1½d. Packets. Obtainable from all grocers, wholesale only from
D. W. GREER & CO.,
London, S.E.5.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS
Family Bakers.

PRODUCE FROM A CO-OPERATIVE GARDEN.—Orders taken now for deliveries in season at market rates. Young Black Currant and Red Currant Trees for Sale or Exchange for other Garden Produce. Volunteers are urged to come to work in the garden.—Apply Miss A. Tollemache, Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Essex.

"HERALD" LEAGUE, STEPNEY BRANCH
A GRAND DANCE
will take place at
The Empress Hall, 128 Cambridge Rd., E.
On SATURDAY, APRIL 6th, 1918
From 6 till 10.30 p.m.
Tickets from Hon. Sec. I. Desner, 67 Fuller St., Bethnal Green, E.

All Pacifist, Socialist, Feminist Literature may be obtained for sale or on loan from the W.S.F. at:—
ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP, 85 HOXTON STREET.
"THE DREADNOUGHT" SHOP, 53 ST. LEONARDS STREET, BROMLEY-BY-BOW.
20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR.
W.S.F. HEADQUARTERS, 400 OLD FORD RD., E.
Buy all your books through us.

WORKSHOP NOTES (continued from front page).

branch of a craft organisation. Our comrade can rest assured, however, that the seeds he has been instrumental in sowing at Leyland will most assuredly bear fruit, and we wish him more success in Preston.

A TALE OF TOY AND A TROUBLESOME TRADE UNIONIST.

Employed at the Aero Engine Instructional Workshop at Twickenham is a foreman named Toy, who dismissed a tool-hardener, giving as the reason that he had scrapped some gauges. The workers were dissatisfied with this explanation, and sent their steward to Toy to tell him so. Toy, addressing the men from the office steps, said his reason for sacking the man was that he was not going to have any more hardening done at that works, and definitely stated that he would not engage another hardener. This statement satisfied the men,, and for a week or two nothing happened. Then a new tool-hardener was brought into the works. The steward interviewed Toy, who said he was going to run the shop just as HE liked, and this so greatly aroused the men in the tool-room that on March 11 they tendered their notices as a protest against Toy holding his position any longer. The men in the machine-shop spontaneously followed the lead of the tool-room, and also gave in their notices. This was splendid, but listen to what followed. The men in the machine-shop asked the management to excuse them from leaving, and presumably begged the firm's pardon for taking part in a rebel movement. (Did someone whisper Bolo?) Result:—All the toolmakers left on Monday, March 18. All machine-shop men still under the iron heel and, we presume, eager and able to fill the vacant jobs, and desirous of being classified by Trade Unionists as "Blacklegs." One is tempted to ask, "What about the national importance of aero engines?"

F. D.

LEIGH DISTRICT.

The Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee in the Leigh district is endeavouring to solidify the forces of Labour by amalgamation irrespective of craft, grade, or sex. We regret to state there is still one society which clings to the old shibboleths of officialism. We say, "Wake up, you Rip Van Winkles, and strengthen the wheels of progress."

Efforts are being made by one firm in the district to side-track the Shop Stewards' movement. The Whitley red herring is being drawn across the path. Workers, don't be bamboozled. Let vigilance be your watchword!

The committee is contemplating the formation of a C.L.C. class, and we trust that if such a class materialises associate members will take the opportunity of studying industrial history.

H. HILTON.

GAINSBOROUGH.

Prior to the war trade unions in this district were secret societies. It was as much as a man's job was worth to let the boss know he belonged to a union. A superannuated member was secretary of the A.S.E., and when I took the job on it was expected that I should get the "bird," but nothing happened. That was in March, 1915. Since then we have grown by leaps and bounds in membership and audacity. Getting stronger locally the progressive spirits began to look further afield, and being interested in amalgamation sent me to the Newcastle conference. I there learned that our ideas were at least 10 years behind the times, and returned home with the determination to educate myself and comrades up to the advanced aims and ideas of the present day rebels. I sold 300 of Murphy's pamphlets and got him down to speak on "Industrial Organisation." Then came Bro. Kealey on "War and the Workers," and now the local joint committee is being asked to undertake the formation of a Workers' Committee. This will, of course, eventually eliminate the joint committee, and the sooner the better. Send me a quire of "Workers' Dreadnoughts" down each month. I am resigning the branch secretary's job at the end of the half-year, and shall then be able to put my whole heart and soul into the local Shop Stewards' movement.

R. C. PROCTOR.

THE FORTH DISTRICT.

E. A. Bartlett, writing from Edinburgh, says that a Workers' Committee similar in structure, aims and objects to the Clyde and Sheffield Committees has been established in the Forth area. He goes on to say:—From the hearty support the Committee is receiving from the rank and file I predict a "great future" for the movement in this district. It sprang up spontaneously, and spread so rapidly that the need of co-ordination was soon felt. Therefore a few enthusiastic workers got together and commenced organising meetings both in the workshops and out. The exact membership for this area I cannot at this stage give you, but next month I hope to be able to send much fuller information.

AN EDUCATIONAL BOOK FOR STUDENTS.

THE STATE: ITS ORIGIN AND FUNCTION (1s. 3d.)
Wm. Paul. (S.L.P., 50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.)

The most important result of the growing Socialist movement has been the development of an independent educational system for the working class by the working class. If there are any critics of the rank and file movement, who still think we are the dupes of orators on the make, let them attend the classes carried on by the movement and be cured of that mental paralysis caused by State education. The evil influence of the property-owning class and its interest(s) is evident in the State educational system. In order to retain their power to exploit the working class, they have degraded education, as they have degraded press, pulpit, and politics. Education develops intelligence, the ability to observe and think correctly; but as this would make it increasingly difficult and finally impossible to continue the robbery of Labour by Capital, we get a substitute which crams the mind with useless lumber tending to retard any future mental development. To the capitalist, the chief end of the worker is to work for reduced wages, and anything tending to give the workman a different point of view, must be sufficiently adulterated to make it useless. The study of history is a case in point. The substitute which the State School gives us is simply a record of intriguing barons, kings, and priests whose characters improve with age and a distant view, and they mostly need both to make them presentable in public. When compared with such a history as that written by Wm. Paul, the need for independent and specialised education becomes apparent and to the non-Socialist reader, to the young workman looking for the way out, I commend it as being well worth reading and studying. You will find there, that seemingly impossible changes become possible, and then inevitable. That is one of the lessons of real history, "the growth and inevitability of change."

W. FORDYCE.

ANOTHER DIES IN PRISON

Paul Loo Gillan, a conscientious objector, died in Manchester Prison on March 16th.

Gillan was a Roman Catholic and a Sinn Feiner, and when arrested in August, 1916, was 40 years of age. He was sent to Wormwood Scrubs, where he accepted work under the Home Office Scheme. He had always been delicate, and he was terribly weak when he arrived at Warwick Work Centre, so much so indeed that the Agent permitted him to lie in bed and sew his mailbags. In March, 1917, he was transferred to Princetown, where one morning he was a quarter of an hour late for work through illness, and this was charged as an offence against him, and he was ordered to forfeit two weeks' pay. He wrote to the Home Office Committee protesting strongly against this unfair treatment, and as a punishment for this he was returned to the army and sent to Mutley Prison, Plymouth, where he had no opportunities of attending mass or church. After protest on his part he was removed to Winchester Prison in February of this year, where such facilities were obtainable. On March 8th the Governor of Winchester Prison, in response to an inquiry from his mother, wrote that Gillan was "alive and fairly well." On March 16th the prison Governor wrote to his mother saying that he had died of "heart disease, from which complaint the medical officer reports that he has suffered for some time."

The Military Service Acts provide that genuine conscientious objectors may obtain complete exemption. Lord Curzon promised that conscientious objectors in poor health should be released. These conditions are only fulfilled where the C.O. has special influence behind him. Government rests on the consent of the governed. How long will the people continue to tolerate the Military Service Acts?

KILLED BY FORCIBLE FEEDING

At the inquest on W. E. Burns, a conscientious objector, aged 35, who died in Hull Prison on 14th March, the jury found that death was due to pneumonia, accelerated by forcible feeding, but they were of opinion that there was no blame attaching to the doctor. Dr. H. W. Pigeon, who had made a post-mortem examination, stated that death was due to pneumonia consequent upon the inhalation of some irritating fluid in this case. Some food had passed into the lungs and produced a condition that caused death. Dr. Howlett, the prison doctor, gave evidence re forcible feeding. The food administered was equal parts of milk and cocoa. Burns, when forcibly fed, was quite passive, but whilst the second feeding was on he made a violent respiration effort which was followed by a choking cough. He was suspicious that some food had gone the wrong way. Cross-examined he agreed that if the feeding tube had been longer the choking would probably have been avoided. Letters written by Burns were quoted in which he said he was coming to believe that death was the great deliverer. He was hunger striking because he could not get an answer from the Home Secretary to his petition to be reinstated on the Home Office Scheme or else removed to Manchester Prison.

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